

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 030971

R 081717Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7504

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 7761

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP
SUBJECT: OCT 1 MEETING OF THE US-SPANISH COUNCIL

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT MINUTE OF THE FIRST MEETING OF
THE COUNCIL, PREPARED BY U.S. PERMANENT SECRETARY AND REVIEWED
BY SPANISH PERMANENT SECRETARY. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE
CONFIRMATION THAT MINUTE HAS DEPT'S APPROVAL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MINUTE

MEETING OF THE U.S. - SPANISH COUNCIL
2:30 P.M., OCTOBER 1, 1976 - THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE U.S. - SPANISH COUNCIL MET FOR THE FIRST TIME OCTOBER 1, 1976,
IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN WASHINGTON.
THE AGENDA COMPRISED:

I. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY SECRETARY KISSINGER

II. REPLY BY FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA

III. REMARKS BY SECRETARY KISSINGER

IV. REMARKS BY FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA

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V. REMARKS BY GENERAL BROWN

VI. REMARKS BY LT. GEN. FERNANDEZ VALLESPIN

VII. APPROVAL OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE

SECRETARY KISSINGER WELCOMED FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA AND THE OTHER SPANISH PARTICIPANTS TO WASHINGTON. HE WAS DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS OCCASION TO CONSTITUTE A NEW LEVEL OF JOINT COOPERATION. HE SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE TO EXCHANGE SOME IDEAS ON THIS OCCASION CONCERNING THE OVERALL SITUATION IN THE WORLD. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA ALSO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HAVING HIM MAKE SOME REMARKS CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN AFRICA.

WITH REGARD TO THE SECURITY SITUATION IN EUROPE AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL, IT WAS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS CONTINUING TO INCREASE ITS MILITARY POWER AND ITS INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL STRENGTH. THE SOVIET UNION WAS ABLE TO DEVOTE A SIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF ITS GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT TO MILITARY PURPOSES AND, SO ITS INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL BASE GREW, ITS MILITARY POWER GREW AS WELL.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE WEST HAD THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO CONDUCT AN EFFECTIVE COUNTER-EFFORT.

IN ANY CRISIS IN WHICH THE WEST HAD DRAWN THE LINE, THE SOVIETS HAD BACKED OFF AND NO GAINS ATTRIBUTABLE TO SOVIET MILITARY POWER WERE ENJOYED. THE SUCCESS ENJOYED BY THE SOVIET UNION IN ANGOLA WAS IN MEASURE ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE INABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED ONE SHOULD PLACE MATTERS IN THEIR PROPER PERSPECTIVE AND THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT BECOME PARALYZED BY A RHETORIC OF IMPOTENCE. HE ASSUMED THE JOINT MILITARY COMMITTEE AT ITS MEETING LATER THAT AFTERNOON WOULD DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS IN MORE DETAIL.

LOOKING AHEAD THROUGH THE NEXT 10 YEARS, THE SECRETARY PERCEIVED THE LARGEST WEAKNESS IN WESTERN DEFENSE POSTURE WOULD BE THE POTENTIAL GAP IN ITS ABILITY TO CONDUCT REGIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS. THIS BECAME THE CASE AS A STRATEGY OF GENERAL WAR BECAME LESS FEASIBLE. THIS WAS CLEARLY AN AREA IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE WEST.

LOOKING AT THE LONG-TERM SOVIET PERFORMANCE IN THE CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY, ONE WAS STRUCK BY THE ACCUMULATION OF PHYSICAL
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POWER WITHIN A VERY BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM. ONE WAS ALSO STRUCK BY THE PARALLEL INCREASE IN CHINESE STRENGTH. THUS, THE STRENGTH AND UNITY OF THE WEST WOULD BE OF CONTINUING IMPORTANCE. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE U.S. SUPPORTED SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN NATO AND, EVEN BEFORE THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED, THE NEW TREATY RELATIONSHIP CONCLUDED EARLY IN 1976. WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA, THE SECRETARY SAID HE CONSIDERED ONE OF THE TRAGIC ERRORS OF UNITED STATES POLICY WAS THE

FAILURE TO SUPPORT THE NON-COMMUNIST FORCES IN ANGOLA, THIS LESS BECAUSE OF THEIR INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE THAN BECAUSE THIS ALLOWED THE SOVIETS TO PROJECT THEIR POWER FAR FROM THEIR OWN SHORES. IT GAVE THEM THE ABILITY TO RADICALIZE THE SITUATION IN AN ENTIRE AREA, THUS SERIOUSLY DISCOURAGING MODERATE ELEMENTS. SINCE THE DOMESTIC WEAKNESSES IN THAT AREA OF THE WORLD CREATED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE SOVIETS TO RADICALIZE THE SITUATION, IT BECAME IMPORTANT TO DEMONSTRATE THE EXISTENCE OF A MODERATE ALTERNATIVE NOT DEPENDENT ON SOVIET ARMS. IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA, INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE UNITED STATES INDICATED THAT A TRANSFER OF POWER WAS FOREORDAINED. THE U.S EFFORT WAS ONE OF ATTEMPTING TO ASSIST MODERATE ELEMENTS TO INHERIT THIS POWER. THIS EFFORT CUT ACROSS SOVIET STRATEGY. WHAT THE U.S. HAD DONE IN THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS WAS LESS A SUCCESS THAN AN OPPORTUNITY. CONTINUED ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION WOULD BE REQUIRED BECAUSE OF THE SOVIETS' ABILITY TO PROMOTE CIVIL WARS IN SUCH SITUATIONS. THE U.S. OBJECTIVE WAS THE CREATION OF A FIREBREAK BEHIND WHICH MODERATE GOVERNMENTS COULD OPERATE AND RADICALIZATION OF THE CONTINENT COULD BE AVOIDED. SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN THIS DIRECTION. SUMMARIZING, THE SECRETARY STATED THAT. IF ONE COULD LOOK AT THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THIS WORLD OVER THE LAST 10 YEARS FROM A VANTAGEPOINT ON MARS, CERTAINLY HE WOULD NOT SELECT THE SOVIET SYSTEM. A CERTAIN MASOCHISM ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES WAS HEIGHTENED DURING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND PRODUCED

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 081717Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7505

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 7761

EXDIS

A SENSE OF IMPOTENCE. FORTUNATELY, THIS UNUSUALLY EVAPORATED

WITHIN WEEKS OF THE ELECTIONS. THE UNITED STATES WOULD REMAIN DEDICATED TO STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE WEST, ITS POLITICAL AND MORAL COHESION AND ITS MILITARY DEFENSES. IF THE U.S AND OTHER NATIONS IN THE WESTERN WORLD WOULD WORK TOGETHER TO THIS END, WE COULD LOOK FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE TO THE FUTURE. FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR HIS REMARKS AND STATED THAT, IN THIS MATTER OF DEFENSE AND UNITY OF THE WEST, SPAIN LOOKED FORWARD VERY MUCH TO BEING PART OF THE WEST IN AN INSTITUTIONALIZED WAY. THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY IN JANUARY HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT LINKING SPAIN TO THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO GOING BEYOND THIS LINK TO SPAIN'S BEING AN ACTUAL PART OF THE COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATING FULLY IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST. GENERAL BROWN COMMENTED THAT U.S. MILITARY RELATIONS WITH SPAIN HAD BEEN EXTENSIVE IN THE PAST AND WERE TO BE EVEN MORE EXTENSIVE UNDER THE NEW TREATY. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO CLOSE COOPERATION IN THE COMBINED PLANNING STAFF, WITH THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF SEEING SPAIN BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF NATO. GENERAL FERNANDEZ VALLESPIN, SPEAKING AS THE MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES ON THE COUNCIL, STATED THAT THE BILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP EXPRESSED IN THE TREATY SHOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER OUR MUTUAL SECURITY AND THAT OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THE ENHANCED RELATIONSHIP NOW BEING ESTABLISHED WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO MUTUAL SECURITY BOTH IN THE AREA OF COMMON CONCERN AND IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF SECURITY RELATIONS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA. THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WAS THEN APPROVED WITH THE SINGLE ADDITION

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OF A REFERENCE TO THE PARTICIPATION OF SPANISH AMBASSADOR ALBA. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE COMMUNIQUE WOULD BE RELEASED AT 4 P.M. THAT AFTERNOON. SECRETARY KISSINGER STATED THAT IT HAD BEEN A PRIVILEGE TO HAVE FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA IN WASHINGTON. THIS NEW STRUCTURE WHICH WAS BEING INAUGURATED WAS AN IMPORTANT EVOLUTION AND THE U.S. LOOKED FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THE SPANISH IN ALL OF THE COMMITTEES BEING ESTABLISHED. FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA RESPONDED THAT, WITH THE COMING INTO EFFECT OF THE NEW TREATY, HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A FUTURE OF COOPERATION, WHICH WOULD BE EVIDENCED IN ALL OF THESE NEW COMMITTEES UNDER THE COUNCIL. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING THE SECRETARY IN MADRID.

REVIEWED: DRAFTED:

LUIS CUERVO Y FABREGA ARTHUR E. BRISKY SIGNED
SPANISH PERMANENT SECRETARY U.S. PERMANENT SECRETARY

END TEXT.

3. A SEPARATE MINUTE HAS BEEN PREPARED IN SPANISH BY THE
SPANISH PERMANENT SECRETARY AND WILL BE REVIEWED BY THE U.S.
PERMANENT SECRETARY. THIS WILL BE POUCHED TO EUR/WE. (COMMENT:
THIS PROCEDURE OF USING SEPARATE MINUTES REVIEWED BY THE OTHER
PARTY HAS BEEN AGREED ON HERE TENTATIVELY BECAUSE OF THE
DIFFICULTIES IN PRODUCING AGREED TRANSLATIONS.)
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